

1964

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

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"Yet if Americans object too strenuously to such things they are severely reprimanded for not being cooperative with their Vietnamese counterparts."

Comments: (10) It is true that animosity exists in some areas between VN and Montagnards. The generalization that Montagnards are "the best soldiers" in the VN Army is not generally accepted, though some are certainly very brave. The statement reflects Moore's opinion and not the views of the U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam.

With respect to camp commanders keeping the pay of deserters: Under the established procedures, this is not possible since each individual's receipt of pay is overseen by a USSF officer. There has been no evidence of such violation. USSF personnel are not only not reprimanded but are encouraged to report any inefficiency or irregularity.

Moore article: (11) Redtape and delay: "The biggest single fault in the Vietnamese military system is its chronic inability to react quickly.

"On March 26, two Americans were reported overdue and presumed down on a flight over a jungle area. Vietnamese rangers were asked to join the ground search \*\*\* (several points omitted) \*\*\* it was April 3, 8 days after the plane went down, that the search finally got underway."

Comments: (11) Although reaction has been slow in some instances, these occurrences can be attributed to a lack of adequate prior planning and coordination. The correction of this deficiency is a major objective of the U.S. advisory effort.

Regarding the example cited, Mr. Moore fails to mention that all available air elements were committed to the search as soon as it was established that the aircraft was missing and presumed down. Likewise, other ground elements were committed without delay and the search is still going on, though on a reduced scale. It is a gross injustice to the search and rescue operation in RVN to imply that it was not until 8 days after the plane went down that a search was initiated.

Moore article: (12) "At one B team I found the operations officer laughing wryly over the translation of a recent directive. Vietcong snipers picking off a few men were routing whole companies and battalions. U.S. advisers showed the Vietnamese how to dispatch squads to kill or drive off the snipers. The Americans were pleased when a directive on their methods of dealing with snipers went out from corps headquarters."

"A few weeks later, however, the tactical genius of the Vietnamese military mind came forth in a new communique. It instructed units coming under Vietcong sniper fire to withdraw—leaving ambushes in case the sniper charged."

Comments: (12) There is no evidence known indicating that such a directive as mentioned by Moore has ever been issued.

Moore article: (13) "Secretary McNamara talks about sending more supplies and equipment to help the Vietnamese with their war against communism. This is fine, except that by and large the Vietnamese have no concept of maintenance, much less preventive maintenance. Unless Americans are maintaining the equipment here it quickly deteriorates from sheer lack of care—and then the Vietnamese ask for more."

Comments: (13) Due to constant advisory effort and training programs, preventive maintenance in the RVNAF has reached reasonable levels of effectiveness although still deficient in some respects by American standards. Higher echelon maintenance by field and base depots compares favorably with that of the U.S. Armed Forces.

Moore article: (14) I had heard so many stories about the Vietnamese pilots flying over the evacuation site at 5,000 feet, well

out of range of ground fire, and then flying back without even trying to pick up the wounded that I decided to go along on an all-Vietnamese evacuation flight.

"Over and over again," Mr. Moore says, "U.S. advisers reported the terrible fall in morale among the Vietnamese troops when they realized that their own pilots were afraid to come down in Vietcong-infested jungles to pick up the wounded. The ground troops automatically gave up hope when they saw the yellow streak on the choppers high above."

Comments: (14) With respect to evacuation of wounded, it must be recognized that some of the operational areas require extremely skilled piloting of helicopters. It is agreed that some evacuation missions requested of the VNAF failed. The opinion that the VN pilots are cowardly is not shared by those who live in this environment.

Moore article: (15) "So far, holding operations by the Vietnamese alone have not been successful.

"Until the Vietnamese muster the courage to go out at night and patrol the areas they are supposed to be securing, the entire clear-and-hold concept is a joke."

Comments: (15) Many aspects are involved in a clear-and-hold operation. Moore's generalization that the VN do not conduct night operations was at one time partially true. In recent months many VN units have been conducting extensive operations at nighttime. The newly approved national pacification plan provides a plan and a sound method for improving the effectiveness of clear-and-hold operations.

Moore article: (16) "Solution: U.S. control: After watching the war in Vietnam for 4 months, this American writer has reached this overall conclusion:

"Until the Vietnamese military develops the will to win and the courage to face the enemy unflinchingly by day or by night, even if outnumbered, the war against communism in Vietnam will not be won—no matter if we pour in \$3 or \$4 or \$5 million a day in aid.

"The only realistic solution that most Americans see in Vietnam is for the United States to take operational control of the war away from the luxury-loving, coup d'etat-minded, casualty-fearing Vietnamese officer corps until such time as they can develop the leadership necessary to win the war. If we do not take operational control, we merely waste lives and money in a hopeless stalemate."

Comments: (16) Under the leadership of General Khanh, the GVN is gearing up to pacify the country, recognizing that the effort will be long and hard. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, does not subscribe to the thesis that the pacification cannot go forward under Khanh's direction.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, I shall not attempt to examine point by point the validity of the DOD's arguments attempting to refute Mr. Moore's criticisms and recommendations. I leave that for the careful reader to judge for himself. I would point out, however, that Mr. Moore repeatedly emphasized that his experience was for the most part limited to the fighting level rather than the command or policy level. But, as anyone who has ever been connected with any of the military services will recognize, there is often a wide discrepancy between the official view of the conduct of the military operation and the facts as they present themselves to the men who must execute the orders.

I would also point out that following Mr. Moore's discussions with members of the Armed Services Committee and others, when he was in Washington, and

that was immediately upon his return from southeast Asia where he had been fighting with our troops and the Vietnamese troops, and at the suggestion of the gentleman from Georgia, Chairman VINSON, Mr. Moore personally presented his views to high-ranking Pentagon officials. Mr. Moore stated to me that he found these officials most interested in his appraisal of the Vietnamese situation. I would point out that just the other day when Secretary of the Army Ailes was before our committee I asked him if he had any reason to doubt the integrity of Mr. Moore, and he said he did not.

The course of the war effort in South Vietnam can only suggest, I believe, that Mr. Moore's view of the situation there is of greater validity and importance than the Pentagon would care to admit, publicly or privately. Indeed, many of the Pentagon's arguments are defensively couched in the assertion that while what Mr. Moore says may have been true at one time, it is no longer so and in any event reforms have already been instituted. I would only point out that Mr. Moore was in Saigon at the time of Secretary McNamara's last visit, and it is rather unlikely that such a radical shift in developments could have been accomplished in the space of a few days or weeks.

I think my colleagues will agree that the DOD statement contains nothing that would justify a "confidential" classification. What it does contain reveals only the transparency of the ringing phrases and official optimism that has been presented to the American people as the true situation in Vietnam. We are ever being assured that the Government's foreign policy in this and in other parts of the world is based upon sound reasons which allegedly cannot be revealed or debated for reasons of national security. Yet this declassified policy statement leaves one with the feeling that what is at stake here is not any issue of national security but of the "security" of the position of the administration's defense officials. The fact, of course, that this document has been declassified only substantiates the lack of grounds for the original classification. This incident of the operation of the Defense Department here in Washington can only serve to give credence to criticisms of the operation of our defense and foreign policies in parts of the world far removed from the scrutiny of the American public and the Congress. In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I say it is time for the administration's officials to be more forthright with the American people.

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JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER FOR THE  
PERFORMING ARTS—REPORT ON  
THE UNIVERSITY THEATER FESTIVAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LIBONATI). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Delaware [Mr. McDowell] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, a national festival designed not only to demonstrate the cultural contribution of our country's colleges and universities, but

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one which is expected to be of maximum benefit to students, is planned for the spring of 1965 in Washington, D.C. The festival will be sponsored by the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the American Educational Theater Association, and the American National Theater and Academy.

I am very pleased that Dr. C. Robert Kase, head of the drama department of the University of Delaware, has been chosen to be national coordinator, and I include his report on the significant new national festival which was published in the June 1964 issue of the Footlight, monthly newsletter of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

## A REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY THEATER FESTIVAL

(By Dr. C. Robert Kase, University of Delaware, national coordinator for the selection committee)

During the past month college and university theaters have been submitting their applications for the National University Theater Festival scheduled for the spring of 1965. Jointly sponsored by the John F. Kennedy Center, the American Educational Theater Association and the American National Theater and Academy, the festival will be one of the first major national activities of the Center. It will also be the first event of national scope to reflect the quality and extent of theater production in American colleges.

Any theater organization in an accredited college or university is eligible to participate. Applications are first submitted to regional committees, which screen these carefully, making recommendations for the final selection to the central committee before November 1, 1964.

The final selection will determine the college theaters which will present their performances in Washington during the festival, which is scheduled for the weeks of March 21, 28, and April 5, 1965. Whether 8 or 12 colleges will participate depends upon the funds available.

In a series of resolutions adopted by the central committee<sup>1</sup> in New York last February, the general plans for the festival were set forth. Each company will play a split week, giving two or three performances. By using two theaters—the Kennedy Center will, of course, not yet be available—and staggering matinees each group will be able to see three plays by other colleges during its week's stay in Washington.

The companies will be limited to 20 members, including a faculty escort. No limitations will be placed upon the types or length of plays selected for production in order that the festival may truly reflect the theatrical work being carried on in the colleges and universities throughout the country. An effort will be made to provide two types of theaters, one for arena and one for proscenium staging. Costs of transporting company and scenery, and a per diem to cover living expenses en route and in Washington, will be provided.

The festival is designed not only to demonstrate the cultural contribution of college theater, but also to be of maximum benefit to the student performers. The central com-

mittee proposes to include in the program conducted tours of the cultural centers of our Nation's Capital, the briefing of the groups by members of foreign embassies in the theaters of their respective countries, critiques of productions by experts and professional newspaper critics, and an opportunity to see and profit by the performances and production of their contemporaries.

It is anticipated that the national festival will stimulate the organization of regional festivals. Already region II, which includes southern California and Arizona, is planning a fall festival which will be used as a basis for the recommendations by its regional committee.

Since the preliminary screening is being taken care of by the regional committees, colleges should address all inquiries to the chairman of the regional committee for his area. These regions are the same as those set up by ANTA and AETA. Information concerning the name of the chairman for any particular region may be obtained from the office of the national coordinator, University of Delaware, Newark, Del.

## EMANCIPATION: HISTORY'S FANTASTIC REVERIE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LIBONATI). Under previous order of the House the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DIGGS] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Dwight L. Dumond, professor of history, the University of Michigan, is a widely read and honored authority on the subjects of antislavery in America and civil rights. Last October he was guest speaker at the 48th annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, held at Virginia State College. I call to the attention of Members of Congress, of both bodies, his monumental address, "Emancipation: History's Fantastic Reverie." It is essentially a message to Members of Congress and, in this case, it is an extreme misfortune that it could not have been personally conveyed from the floors of the House and the Senate by Dr. Dumond. Just now, as enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 continues to be frustrated in the Senate by the same virulence of racism which has plagued this Nation throughout its history and kept it from fulfilling its destiny as a democratic society, this message is prophetic and urgent.

The address follows:

EMANCIPATION: HISTORY'S FANTASTIC REVERIE  
(Address by Prof. Dwight L. Dumond)

It is my settled conviction that the four documents most important to the building of this Nation are the New Testament, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of 1787, and the Emancipation Proclamation. If we were to add a fifth, it would have to be the 14th amendment. The first contains God's plan for individual salvation and ultimate perfection of the human race. The second is a testament of faith; a seemingly perfect definition of manhood; an acknowledgement of man's intellectual capacity and moral responsibility for self-government. The third is the supreme law of the most perfect establishment in recorded history for the cultivation of man's spiritual and intellectual freedom. The fourth is the basic charter of freedom for a

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previous error and a simple act of justice by the highest authority of the Nation. As to the fifth, I say again, as I have said many

times that "wrapped up in that famous trilogy are the social teachings of Jesus, the philosophy of Locke, and the legal principles of Blackstone. Keep it in the proper historical perspective and everything is there: God and man—the natural rights of man—men and government—mutual obligations of allegiance and security—due process—equality of all men in the endowment of rights, the security of rights, the exercise of rights, before the law and in the halls of justice."

The Founding Fathers established a vast store of credit throughout the world for virtue and high mindedness by the first sentence of the declaration. It was a compendium of Christian faith. It was a prospectus of democratic philosophy. It stated without equivocation the equality of all men in the sight of God. These men dedicated the Nation to freedom, in every age and every place the incontestable right to know all things and to act by choice. They dedicated the Nation to equality in all things without reservation, so completely in fact that slavery was swept away north of Virginia and could have been struck down everywhere by judicial decree.

Some of the men who framed the Constitution may have believed the declaration to have been a glittering generality. Some may have been influenced by greed. Some may have been moral hypocrites. Some simply lacked perspective, or were devotees of decentralization of power, or actually believed in biological inequality and racial inferiority. Or they may have believed in gradualism, and felt they were making adequate provision for the ultimate abolition of slavery. Whatever the cause of their weakness, they failed.

Most people in the country at large were satisfied with the achievement of independence and establishment of a stable government by the Constitutional Convention. This was true of members of the several ratifying conventions. They placed their trust in God without realizing He needs a little help, and that trait has remained constant to the present time. I never cease to be amazed at the ability of Christians to adjust to the most grievous wrongs of civil government. In this first stage of our reverie we established a government based upon the principles of the Declaration but continued slavery which ate at the vitals of Union and democratic institutions. Nearly a century later, we freed the slaves by a great civil war without defining emancipation or correcting the glaring weaknesses of political organization. Now, after another century we face a worldwide revolution of immense proportions, still talk in riddles, and seem to think if we wait long enough our troubles will all go away.

Racialism is a myth. Out of it has come a whole progeny of evils. Its survival in the United States is rationally inconceivable. A discussion of it would seem to be outside the realm of scholarship. It belongs to intellectual pygmies who neither know nor respect basic principles of religion, science, or history. It belongs to fantasy and legend. How many people have subscribed to it at any given time or place is a moot question. Too many, of course.

Slavery enshrined the doctrine and the Constitution did not strike it down. The Declaration said all men are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Constitution said no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; but it also allowed slaves to be imported for 20 years. It allowed slave masters to roam the entire country seizing people and carrying them off to an infinitude of slavery, and it established a political system incorporating the repugnant principle that the States to retain the police powers under which slavery

<sup>1</sup> Members of the central committee: James H. Butler, University of Southern California; Randolph Edmonds, Florida A. & M. University; Kenneth Graham, University of Minnesota; Edward Cole, Yale University; Leonard Leone, Wayne State University; Father Gilbert H. Appleton, Fordham University; Stanley Young, ANTA; Loren Winship, University of Texas; C. Robert Kase, University of Delaware, national coordinator.